1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

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1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*, completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates 33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many names given to the different kinds of mantles show their interest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich mantles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some, who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker supporting an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle. On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identification. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay, wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

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PLATE 45

AZTEC FEATHERWORK

TOP: Nineteenth-century survival of a famous Aztec craft of which few examples have resisted the ravages of time. BOTTOM: Montezuma's headdress, now in the Vienna Museum. Cortes sent it to the Emperor Charles V, who gave it to his nephew.

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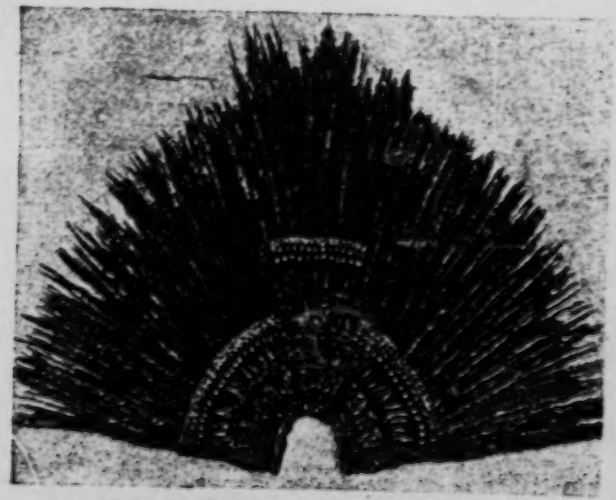

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the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[77] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] armed with a chalky war-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquauhquentzcchil, nacaio, yeuechin, ielpaccuequi cyli 776
tzcactlatlapanqui yn jxaiac: yn jnechichinol, ytiçanacoch,
ytiçachinol, amapain, ytlachiaia ynac catca, ytolicpal,
acacpalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Little Black Face (Itzlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlaltetecuini).[78]

Jxic exxtolli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jtoca, catca, itzlilton, tlaltetecujn.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teuti catca, çan quauil yn jtenpan catca, ytocaiocan [346]
tlacujlocan: in vncan ytenpan, mjec yn apaztli, tzontecu-
manca, nonotzaiotia itlilauh.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Itzlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aqujn mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn 776
jtenpan itzlilton: centetl, qujtlapoaia yn apaztli, conjtaia 757
yn jtlilauh; ic poxia in piltontli.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Itzlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aqujn qujnotiz, copaltica in conanaia, ynjc 776
quivicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Itzlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[79]

Jn oncic ychan, tlatoaia, teytoaia: · njmaan tlatlaqualo, 776
atlitec: yn otlaqualoc, njmaan mjtoaia, yn jtzlilton: yn
omjtoti, yn onmacuh, calitic oncalaquj: ixhuitl qujtlapoa 273
in vetli, nauilhujtica tzacutimáca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacanapoala,
vitznaua.

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Nimaan yc vnpoua, yn ic tlacaua: oc cepa oalquiça itoalco,
qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca nauilhujtica: ic
macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who led the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] sowed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic motzcoaia, intla tlaçolli, ytzla tzcatzaualli, 787
ytzla tzontli, intla tecolli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, açe
tetlaxima, açe ichtec, anoço ahuilonemj, mahuiltia: ac
açe tlacacemelle, in tlatoaia, ic qujmotlaia, qujtzcmacaia,
quijpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenpantla motoca: ixhica, ca
qujnicmacaca, qujtzicpantia, ic tzinmotla, yn tetlatlacol.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called ixquen (face-covering).[80]

Auh ynjc oalquiça techã, quacheli yn quimacaia motocaio- [292]
tia, ixquen.

Thus was [Itzlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jxic mochichioaia, nançac, motemjtelipopotz, mjnj- 776
çatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tetpaquachichiqujle, quetzalle,

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77. For description, see Illustrations and note in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 513 and 523; and also Illustration (Omacatl) —Plate 13.

The term *cuachtli* means the natural cups or utensils, with one small shell fastened where the ends crossed. The *chalcuacuel* and the *necuepatl* were presumably the same or similar. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 3. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex, fo. 37r*), Sahagún refers to "*vn ornamento de vn palmo en quadro, hecho en cada vna, al qual llamauan yyacatzin, atado con vnas cuerdas de algodon a los pechos. . . .*"

78. *God of medicine. Tlaltetecuini* (or *tlaltetecuinti*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tetecuitia*. Cf. Seler: *Beiträge Kapitel*, Vol. I, p. 16.

79. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 319: ". . . *los que conocidamente heredaban las mugeres y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba octopli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamauan tlaiacanapoala, quiere dezir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *centetl*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *macuilxiquitl*.

80. ". . . *diuersas colores: los quales llamauan ixquen: que quiere dezir, cubiertos de la cara: porque quedauan, amorenados, aquel que assi hacia, le fauia. . . .*" *Loc. cit.*

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[85] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, insincing and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were shins], and played at combat like fighters in war, some resting.[86] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tezcco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on zapote-fiber mats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[88] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi-crown*[89] was *placed* (a *lance*] with feathered ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a zapote-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[90] was in his hand.

tetoca, ynjc motlamaihtilisia: quinnecalilisia, quinnamjqui- 776
in tiacoca, tlapoponi, tlatzonanti: 796

yuan in inquichi, çan papaquinj, yn mjhiviecia, tlatla- [524]
zati, moquichmoquj, moquichnamoquj, amjquimauhqui,
teca mamotlanj, iantlavelilloque: vncan moieicoaia, moiac-
mamachtilia, yn juh mjcalinque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia
yn aiac, mjtoaia totecca. [346]

Auh yn tetecti njman ia ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no [292
tlatlaoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalile, quinecholcuecaia, quja- 352
xochineapanaltia, quimicpacxochitia, quintlaoantia. 302]

Auh intla aca cioatl, tetommonja, iccocoiztia: quitoa, ma
njctlamaniliz, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoalitzli.

In iuechichioal, mixcolnechimale, tnnexaltic vltica, 776
yiopitzon cocdaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaquiticac tla-
caiouatl, yiouia nialli, tzonchaiouale, teucujtlanacoche,
tzapocuxia, tzitzile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicoua-
tli yn jmac icac.

Nineteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Lord of the Vanguard (Yiaomoquih).[91]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, carrying in paper[92] the stone traveling staves[93] with

Jnic caxtolli vnnaui capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in uuil: yn jiouca yiacauecuili.

Puchuca interuh catca: cenca quimauitilitia, quitlaquen- 776
tilia amatica: yn jiouipil, ymotlaiupil, yni nenemja, yni 463
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85. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En este fiesta, bayian como en juego de cañas: de manera que el un vando, era de la parte deste dios, o paragon del dios totec; y estos todos, unos vestidos de pellejos de hombres que avian muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y escogidos, y personas valerosas, y esforçadas: que no tenian en nada la muerte: osados, atrevidos, que de su voluntad yuan, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los unos, con los otros, se esgremian, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauan los unos, a los otros: hasta su passion, y de alli, bolujan huyendo, hasta su propria puesta.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 129. The game of canes in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antiguo fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas convenidas ó retadas, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se emplean en la alcanza.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was removed to the nobility. In spite the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and space-dancing.

86. *RS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Sahn, *Ensiqe Kapitel*, has totoca in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Sahn translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, on the place called Tzocca."

87. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 126: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian vnos sobre otros, a los vnos llamaban Totocuitl.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Totocuitl as "*los vestidos o huesos del dios Totec.*"

88. In the *RS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Sahn, *op. cit.*), the word is mixpichtlachiuhcan, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Sahn also (*Translation of the Aztec Collection*, p. 102) uses the term mixpichtlachiuhcan (quail face painting).

89. Sahn (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates yopi as "the red people" (Thapsinna), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted caps.

90. "The word chimmalli means 'shoemaker's awarding is made among.' Wood and symbol obviously refer to the accomplishing of the expeditions functions, to fortifying, hence we also see the chimmalli with the four rays projecting between the human couples in several scenes." Sahn: *Translation of the Aztec Collection*, p. 108.

91. Sahn suggests that the form of the name should be Ixcuc-tecuhtli or yacatecuhtli ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 57). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacantzinhqui* ("*el que tiene la nariz aguileña*"); Francisco Javier Clavijero, in *Historia antigua de México* (Editorial Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiuhtecutli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Sahn refers to Yiaomoquih as meaning "lord of the skies," and to the form Iyoxauhqui, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yiaomoquih with Iyoxauhqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four pieces and covered with liquid rubber. (Sahn: *op. cit.*, p. 93).

93. The corresponding Spanish text reads: ". . . *en una cuña, manera, que ellos llaman vilad. Y tambien traen de otra manera de hazada,*

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Aztec NU7

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[418]
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"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had entrance in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it *as offering fowl, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet,* they always offered it as offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomquiauitl, or Chalmecatecutl, Acxomocutli, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them then at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They have them up [like

Auh in tecmatl, in pochtecmatl, in aiatectli, in aquaujtl, [484]
yn atzaccaiutl: [418]
[439]

intlanel iautiltan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalitica, in nezintica, [292]
in tlatoltica quintlachachalhuja in chaneque.

Auh intla oclaneçomalitiqui, intla oittoque: vncan [263]
quipopoiomjctia, quipachillatilia: ça nca, aço oc, aço vmo yn [265]
oc nã tematitlanpa quiça, ichoatl quiualnecotzaia in
nonecuçumatzin:
ic vncan quimaca, caquilia, yapoçonaltentzauh, yc [431]
quimaviziotia, ic quinezcaiotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic [301]
oquichtia. [301]

Auh yn iquac oalacia, yuchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal
oquichiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque:
inquich tlacatl quinezca, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic
monititiaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca quimavitiliaia yn itopil, yn 776
jtlaccaia yiacatecutli:
cana in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn 796
iquac ocalaquitia: yoan intlacc an' motecuzcatzatzi,
quitlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia. [778]

Auh intla aca tualtia, ichoatl caltiaia, quinvecia in jiuuh
yiacatecutli: anoço cenca ichoantin yn mochcaia, in
quimomotziaia in chicomquiauitl, anoço chalmecaciuatl,
yoan acxomocuji, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzauac, atac
quijtocaia, yiallotlama, yn aço oc, anoço vmo, ca aiuia tlacatl:

ynipa tzinnotzaia yn tlacauanocujtoca axcapotz'co: motlah- 776
tlatilia, motlapapatilia, quiacxecuepa, quimjhiitta, yn 796
qualtin quijtocaçaque, yn acan quemanjquia, in tlacaiocti, in 567
tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuepa, yn atle intlaciuh on:

yujc ichoan quimictia-que, yn iqua panquetzaliztli: yn
vncan ilhujquijmilitia vitzilohochtli:
yquac quinchichioaia, quintlapanaca, intech quitlalia yn
jolloqui yaochichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn oiuuo quimjctia, achtopa quinteittitiaia: mjtoa
quinjauantia, ic quimachtia in teoiiocque:

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104. Cf. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 57): Yauanhiloqui "*juguetones reprensores parones, que tienen vicios, é habilidad, para mofar graciosamente, é engañar, y en robar, y engañ (que es propio condicion de Mercadores)* . . . ."

105. Cf. Ixtlil (*Obras Kingsb.*, p. 272) citing *Hist. Rep. Colh. Mss.* D. II 303.

106. Book IX of the *History* in general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando*: *llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *calpuli* as "*iglesia del barrio, ó parrochia*" (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the *tzinnotzaia* in this manner: "*Estos degollaban a estos cautivos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Ixtlil (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 93) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomquiauitl or Chalmecatecutl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocutli is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

Then the mother of the young man

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *tiçiti*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo.

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They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y anjmales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro.

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[304 854]
[535 785]

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzinth, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhquemecan, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhquemecan. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in quimonacaxia,

quiuhtepec: auh yn ymixpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie itoca itiuja, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatequj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vecil miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, ioatlacatecujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatequj, tiltic, chichiltic ic oconequj.

Jnjc ezcan, tepetzinco: yn ixpa onmiquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiuia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan itzpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiuja in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic mochichiuhtiuja, vipiiooac, tlauhjztectli.

Jnic macujlcan, ixpa in ati itic itocajocan pantitlan, in ixpa, onmiquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caquiziuja, epetpanjuhqui.

Jnic chiquacemcan: ixpa quiujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacatecujtl: yn itlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaquilli, yn jiappalli.

Jxquican yn, in miquja nextlaoalli, tlacatecuhtli:

auh mochinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixiliquj, quetzalmjauaio: in chalchiuhconeuj ietiuh, yoan momoztexcatitiuj, quimomoztexcatitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixobujlti, quimixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, mochintin maujaçotiuj, tlacemcaoalti, tlachichioalti, mochi tlaçotlaoquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlaoiotiuj, quimamatlapaltia, amatl,

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6. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is an extra complication. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*en una sierra semejante que esta entre dos Tlatelulcos.*"

7. Yiapaltic, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); here he has *leonado* (lion colored, tawny) for *pajizo*. For *pajizo*, Siméon (*op. cit.*, p. 56) has *grisâtre*; Molina (*op. cit.*), *cosa tirando de negro*; Simeon (*op. cit.*), brown or black.

8. The Spanish text continues: "*es una sierra semejante que esta entre Guadalupe.*"

9. Lat. *ibi*: "*es aquel cerrezuelo, que esta delante donde fue[ron] fundados los Tlatelulcos.*"

10. Lat. *ibi*: "*es un cerrezuelo, que esta en los arrabales de Tlatelulco, y cabe este cementerio.*"

11. Lat. *ibi*: "*es un cerrezuelo que esta cabe Tlatelulco mesmo.*"

12. Báez (*op. cit.*, p. 97) reads *panquetzaliztli*, which he translates as *fiesta alguntallada Primo*.

13. Sahagún (loc. cit.) says: "*papajudos como alas de papel como angeles.*"

feathers; and in these [the children]
were kept

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh nappe teixpan neci, teixpan qujtitlo, teixitlo, teiximachtilo, quintlamamaca, quinmamaca yn jmamanechichioal:

ynjc ceppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlaquj.

Jnic vppa ixtac, yn jmamanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc cepa ichoatl yn intlaquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, ixtac,
iccen qujnchichioaia, iccen quinmacaia, iccen quiquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetzia, ynic quintlatlaciaque, ynjc ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic onoanoque ça iccen qujcuj, yn intlaquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo quipapatla: yoan vltica quinoahoanchichioa.

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi ixtac tzoalinjcica.

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlaxistli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momaliniaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic ito, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlatitia, ynjc onoano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic moamamantiuh: yoan ichicaoac ietiuh, chicauaçotiuh, qujtilquetztiuh in chicaoaztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

Auh machiotl, iuh machichioaia, yn ixquichtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oahoanoque, yn iquac onoic ilhujtl tlacaxipeualiztli.

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...mouth and University of Utah, 1950) Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. IV), p. 13. On use of some yopi, and its relations to Xipe totec, see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 80.

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatzoxin*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oioualli*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey tozoztli.

And he left off,[11] scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl*; and they tied to his long hair[11] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa quiquixtiaia: in motenecoa xuchinezpãtli.

Auh yn jnacazmitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlacpololli: yoan onaqujaia icoiolnacoch, texiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuxcatl, yn jcuaquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

Auh njman ie ytrçacauh, itrçacapian tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan palcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpatiquipalli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhquin xoujlmatlatl ic cocniaoac, tochiacatl ynic tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quimetztiopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icnic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: iehoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in iehoatl miquja ce xiuitl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey tozoztli.

Auh quitepeoaia, quitlatlatiaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhquinma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaxtaxel, quetzalmjaoaio, itzotzocol itech quilpia:

çan cempoalilhuitl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncionotinemj: nauintin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, viztociuatl.

Auh in ie itenla Toxcatl, oc macuiltica, tlama-

8. "Cosas cavalleri de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).
9. "Llevauan a las espaldas, en ornamento como bolsa, de un palmo en quadro de lauor blanco, con sus borlas y flocadura" (loc. cit.).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmer edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 163. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con sus pennas coloradas, semejo aquello andava de los soldados, sus borlas con sus hauenar, borlas de plumas, y otra, y tocheacatl, unas coloradas, que ellos llamauan tocatzilli." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 88) the editor: "The first kind of ornament [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, quetzalmiaoaio, because of the combat wounds in torchiacatl or red rabbit's fur, the ground of which[ever] contained in a square of cloth red, has squares of white feathers. The fringe is also of red torchiacatl." From this, it would appear that torchiacatl is red string, and torchiacatl a red thong of rabbit hide.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *amacuiol*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a gaily, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaqualle*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[10] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopochtli: vncan mu vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jutzontecon:

mjchiouhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmixqujo, ca mizqujquauhtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixipela mochipa catca, yn oquipepechoque:

njman ic ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jticol, tlaconaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononolua, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiol: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli ezilapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchiouhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezzepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlaconaqualo:
yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapaloaque, ynjc monapaloa ymaxtli:

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamaxcocan:

10. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Bulmaro edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Don Anthon quotes/translates as "la materia mencionada por los sabios de Hispanoamérica fabrican de algunos árboles de grandes hojas. Sirvale de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de este para hacer los sobrecubos, camisetas y otras cosas que el culto de los dioses requería."

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *maguey* fiber cape, or a small cotton mantle.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[12]

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic axioa. 796X

Auh intla aca, amo qujcxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tehoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aquiqque axioa, oc vel momaquixtia, oc vel moquixtia, oc vel maquiça: aço totolin yca, aço maxtlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica. [291]

Auh yn jcnotlacatl ichoutl in uentelolotli, ic moquixtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn ixquich nequixtilonj, moch quimocuilia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moquixtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moquixtiaia, aocmo quicelixia.

Auh in ie iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl macoalli, quimochiuhliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, aiac yn macamo metzalhujaia: [262]

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech qujmomamaca, nepanotl ic mococouachica.

Auh in cequintin papaquinj, yn ahaujeni: yoan in cequintin tiacoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelquixtia:

injc muchichioa mixteiaioaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan caantinemj xocujcolli etzalcomjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjtzcalxaxapotlaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujoalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlalitiuj yn etzalcomjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoalizt[illegible], ioalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necacaoalo, cactiuetzi, [535]

auh yn ooalquiz tonatiuh, njman ie ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, commaquja yn ixicol, pani commololoa aiatl, itoca aimhquemjtl, anoço aoachquemjtl, [793 292]

12. "Buffalo de queso" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

mist cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tzitziuhio: njman conmonamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mixquatexoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, conapetzotiaia:

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiataztli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatiaztli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatextli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoaztli:

And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlteteu:

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ie iuhquj ÿ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in q̃zqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzitzitzqujtimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemotzoltzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamaztoton, yn oaxioaque, toliaoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ie oneoa, njman iquac qujnpenaltia in qujnchjcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

16. "*Vna manta delgada trasparente, que se llama aiauhquemjtl*" (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions "*mantas delgadas que llaman ayatl*" (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. "*Vna flor de papel grande [illegible], redonda a manera de rodela*" (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the [illegible] as "*ornamento, que va sobre el pescuezo.*"

18. "*Al colodrillo, unas flores de papel, tambien [illegible], que [illegible] a ambas partes de la cabeza a manera de orejas de papel, como medias [illegible],*" and, later in the same chapter, "*era ornamento, que se ponian tras el colodrillo, como una flor hecha de papel*" (*loc. cit.*).

19. "Mexican warriors (*[illegible]*) colored the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (*apetztli*)" (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. "*Hay otra que se llama yauhtli. Es muy verde, tiene muchas ramas y [illegible] todas juntas hacia arriba; (y) siempre huele; es también medicinal para los que tienen cámaras, molida y bebida con el cacao; [illegible], y después molida y mezclada con el cacao. Aprovecha también para los que escupen sangre; y para los que tienen calenturas*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 270).

21. Probably the singular of *quaquacuiltin* is meant by *quacuilli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quacuilli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following our *ciliu*, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh [illegible] yoan [illegible]*—and in the midst of them went what is called a reed seat, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper went hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *tzauxtlal*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yzaoaca, yzamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica,

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaquittli, ynic tlamaiquittli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ic in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ic no ic yn potonquj:

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonaniczilolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, toztlapilollo:

Auh in toztlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quzuhyujtl, quanmolocotli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xolloti, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, toztenoloio in chimalli.

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana:

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: excan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio:

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh.

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixquichtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ic ichpupuchchicacti:

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tonа in peoa mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

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6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 32.

7. "*Y escudero,*" in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design in the same as for Nappa tr. di. (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish columns reads: "*Traya una rodela pintada, con rosas que nacian, de la suerte que se llaman silvestres.*" In Vol. III of the Kubodera ed., p. 336, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "*Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Núm. 3648 a 3687) del libro XI. de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún,*" mis-translation is clarified as "*cabeza de negro. Nimphaea elegans. Hamb., Nimphaeaceae.*"

8. "*Unos manojos de papagayos llamados tzauhli y unos otros mayores cuando ya son grandes y crudos y crian; estos son llamados tlauhquechol y respladecientes; estando vivo son crecidos en obra, unas papagayos tienen todo en amarillo vivo, y por eso le llaman tzauhli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Kubodera ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

9. "*Con flores en las colas, hechas al plumaje de aquello*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulín*, however, may be an element in *flores/chapulín*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 101.

11. "*Unos manojos de papagayos hay que llaman cuchic (y) es muy semejantes al que llaman tzauxuc; tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo amarillas, tan reluciente y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado encima, mezclado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñuelas que cubre sobre lo ayrui del ala que llaman tzauxtl, son amarillas mezcladas de colorado; el vello, como pelo rasio, que tiene sobre la cola y sobre las alas, es colorado mezclado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Kubodera ed.; Vol. III, p. 166).

12. Cf. Anderson (Nicolás, *op. cit.*: "*Jaire cercaine gente en danssant*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando baylaua en el areyto, yuase arrimando al hombro, y abrasando [sic] a cuesta del bayle.*"

1 A [i.e., the god(dss) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Analyst]

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[1]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca mainaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca oncā mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncā tomjqujan catca.

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, ixqujlhujtl cujcoia: im penaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca çā pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njnan ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlavilteti viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli:

auh in ié iuhquj, mec oalquixoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtoçitiujtza, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in masujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti:

auh yn quinnanamictia, yn inmatitech quimantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jlloclama, incāpa onmoquetza tetlan.

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatēnio, muchi cuetenio.

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtonquj much uenei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtoia, quitoma yn jntzon, çan intzon quiquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac quioalteca.

Auh amo mopotonja, amono moxaca.

Auh ynic muchichioia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, ieheotl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymixtaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin.

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, *Assentados[derecados]* may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For *cuye quapanoli*, Sahagún has "an estado."

And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in ixquich tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tilticpa yn jncuechin, muchi tenjxo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntempilol, quinamictin, cequj aujtlatatli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn ixquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn xiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in totontepilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in mocecenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquiaia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujnamaia, ẽxcan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, oceluecatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintli ẽxcan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotoc in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopachcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacazotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tiltzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, *Sahagún* mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 144) has drawn *Perlenhalsband* for *yancuic chachapaz*.

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquizcan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the

qujlhuja,

Xiiauh nocne aço toquichtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toqujch miqujcā:

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoco-tiuh, ça zonauhtiuh, tētentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan quitotoca, in cioatetiachcauh: aoqujc no teoā cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcenmacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in ichoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiaucujlia.

Auh yn iiamo acī in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn motenēua vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itēco coztic, auh yn ixquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn iconqui chalchiuitl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoā yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja anoço xalaquja:

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muztla:

in cemilhujtl conpeoaltia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vccan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquijxecan: ynjc excan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliuiaia yn

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796✗ [302] 301

[292● 293]

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796✗ 805

7. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and logical in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were hastened by it. The explanations in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec columns is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquja* is probably an assimilation of *aoquja*.—Angel Maria Garibay, personal communication.

delos cantares delos dioses. fo. 143. 532 415 534 292

Cochina, cochina, ca tu ye nicca
oblomicanj iacchiuh, nochiuay
tzo. aaiey yio. yiaya.

q Xippe icuic, totec ixualla
uana.

Iualli tlauana, i3tlican, cinoce
necuja xiuaqui inyolotia teuaj
haqueuiz. xicmaquenti cuchioya

Notzuhua chalchiuhcuzca tlaca
pana itzmoia, oiquetzallaueuet,
ay quechel xiuhcoatl nechtaiquiz
catihquet orjia.

Mamiaxjia, njia, njia pelliz
niuaxtzin. achalcuiuhtia xoiollo.
atzcacuitlatl necoiuhtas xoiolce
uizquitlacatl achtequet tlaqua
naia atlacatqui iauhiatzaquet orjia.

Notzuhua cenhuaxaicalliuiz de
noa vioatzin nochepeiocpa mjx
valitta motzuhua, uizquinha
catl achtequet tlaquauia cha
catqui iauhiatzaquet orjia.

q Chicomecoatl icuic.

Chicomolotzin, xaia nechaa,

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Appendix: Song of Xipe)

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3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

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—After Paso y Troncoso

15.21. Teocalli (Chapter 24)

[p. 102 F]

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[501]

—Alfer Paso y Troncoso

22-24. Ezzalqualiztli (Chapter 25)
24-25. Tecuilhuitontli (Chapter 26)
26-28. Uei tecuilhuitl (Chapter 27)
29. Tlaxochimaco (Chapter 28)

[p. 102 G]

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

37-44. Izcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[415]

[p. 102 I]

X 796 And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they 778 cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were [302] painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained [237] red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles [293] or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

[535] And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with [30] white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper [302] shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and [292] they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight; in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked. [413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

[46] After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

auh in ie iuhquj onmoqueztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoā comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmā ie ic quitzterma: mochi ichoutl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omoteten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic viviloa, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactinvomana.

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in quimama tlavitztli, papaloti: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoā in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncā chimalpan icujiuhtica, hivitica: ic motenoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamātivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, quintiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmā ie imamatzon, quinquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomoloa.

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmā ie ic mocacaoa, quincalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan onmotlalia in maleque, quinpia in immalhoan.

Auh in peoa in quintoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: quintzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquiton intzō in mamalti, quintequilia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica quicuitlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc quitequja intzon: quitociaiotiaia, itztlotli:

in ie iuhquj in oconcujque, njmā ic cōtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, quivica in jchan tlamanj, aco quipiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Réal Simdon, however, renders compound as tibia.
8. The context suggests a distinction between detentores and custodes.

Then they climbed up the ropes. On one rope mayhap twenty climbed, like a cluster hanging upon it. Not all reached the point; only some reached the top. The one who led grasped the *zacatl* image, which was made only of a dough of amaranth seeds. He took all—its shield, arrow, dart, and dart-thrower.

And the amaranth seed dough [*tamales*] he scattered down so that they fell to the ground upon those [who watched]. All who stood below looked up. When the amaranth seed dough fell, all stretched forth their hands and shouted as if there were a fight. Some took its head ornaments of amaranth seed dough, which he also scattered upon them. They were carried off by those below.

And when this was done, then he who had captured the *zacatl* [image] came down. When he descended and reached the ground, then they seized him; the old men [of the temple] took him up to the place of sacrifice and offered him gifts. And all thereupon pulled upon the ropes, exerting themselves greatly, verily destroying the work. And the *zacatl* then fell to the ground, raising a cloud of dust, breaking into pieces. Into three or four sections it quickly broke apart.

Upon this, all then went; all was quiet and left clear. And then they accompanied the captor of the *zacatl* to his house, and arrayed him in a brown striped cloak edged with a feathered border.

And if one were a captor [of the *zacatl*], he might well thus array himself, wrapping about him [such a cloak]; none might therefore dispute him [the right]. But if one were not [such a] captor, he might only keep one in his care. And mayhap he might sell it when he was poor or sick.

And thus they accompanied him to his home; two old priests went carrying him, taking him by the arms. Behind came the priests, blowing horns for him as they went, sounding shell trumpets for him. And he bore upon his back his shield. And when they left him, then they returned [to the temple].

Thus in truth ended here, [thus] concluded, the feast day.

njman ie ic tlecoa in mecatitech: in ce mecatl, aço cen tecpantli in jtech tleco, iuhqujn tlapipilcac: amo mochintin in vmpanvetzi, çan quezquijntin in vmpanvetzi, in aquin iacatiuh, vel iehoatl caci in xócotl ixiptla, çan tzoalli: muchi qujcujlia in jchimal, in jmjuh tlaoaçoenalli, yoan yiatlauh. [796] [43]

Auh in tzoalli, vmpa qujoalteteperoa, tepan qujoalcecẽmana, muchi tlacatl, onacopatlachia in tlatzintlan manj, in jquac oalhuetzi tzoalli muchi tlacatl maçoa, iuhqujn ipan nemjmjctilo, iuhquj tlatlacaoca: no cequjntin cenaci, in jtzõcoiol in tzoalli, no tepã qujoalcecẽmana, namoiclo in tlatzintlan.

Auh in ie iuhquj njmã: njman ie ic oalteno, in xócomanj: in ooaltemoc, in odlahtechacico: njmã ie ic conana: in tlacacouhcan, vmpa qujtlacavia in vevetque, vmpa qujtlauhtia: auh in jxqujch, tlacatl, nimã ie ic qujtilinja in mecatl, vel netilinjlo, vel ontlamj in tlapaliviztli: auh in xocotl, njmã ic vetzi tlalpã, tlalipotztivetzi, popoztectivetzi, aço ezcan, anoço nauhcan qujztivetzi. [431]

In ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic vivilo, cactivetzi, cactimomana: auh çatepã, concaoa in jchan in xocomanj, ic caapana camopalli in tilmatli, tenjvivavanquj. [292]

Auh inīla tlamanj, vel qujmoquentia, vel qujmolpilitinemja, aiac ic qujtlatzovilia: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujnotlatilia, çan ipiel iez: auh anoço qujmonamaquilia, in jquac ie motolinja in jcocoian.

Auh inje cõcaoa ichan: caantivi, qujtzitzitzqujtivi yiacolpã; in quaquacujlti: vmentin, icĩpa mantivi tlamacazque, qujtlapichilitivi: iehoatl in tecciztli qujpichilitivi: yoã qujmamatiuh in jchimal. Auh in ocõcaoato, mec oalmocuepa: [534]

ic vel ezcan ontzonquiça, õtlamj in jlhujtl.

X 796 to die, then they came to seize her; one [of them] took her upon his back, and they swiftly cut off her head. And when they had cut her head off, then, as quickly, they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then in haste a man [priest] flung on her skin. He was called Tecciznacuilli—a strong [man], powerful, and very tall.

And her thigh they then also quickly flayed, and hastened with it then to Pochtlan. [He who was the likeness of Toci's] son put it on. His name was Cinteotl. There he received it.

And thereupon, when the Tecciznacuilli donned [her skin], then she[6] quickly went up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid].[7] As she hastily climbed up to place herself [there, she did so] with great speed. Then she as quickly came down [with], on either side of her, two of her Huaxteca, coming [with her].

And the priests, [who] went aiding her, came bringing up the rear, surrounding and guarding her. And a number of the noblemen and the great chieftains stood awaiting her.

And when she went, then they set forth spread out ahead of her. Fast, swiftly, they ran; as if flying, they ran. They wheeled about toward her as they went, striking their shields against each other; they went knocking their shields. Again they whirled about, pressing forward, as they ran. All were fearful [of them]; fright came over the people; they were filled with dread.

And when they thus ran, it was called "fighting with grass"; because it was grass, it was a straw [broom], bloody, covered with blood, that they ran holding in their hands. And those whom they set upon scattered and routed; and greatly were they terrified.

And when [Toci's impersonator] had come to the foot, or the base, of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, then she raised her arms, she spread arms and legs, at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. She put herself facing [the god], and then turned about to place herself by her son, Cinteotl.

Here [this one] was waiting. He had his mask made of the skin of the thigh [of her who had been ●[292] the likeness of Toci];[8] and he put on his peaked cap, which was curved back and serrated. And this was

ana, çan tecujtlapan in cōteca, njmā ic quiquahpechcotontivetzi: auh in oc̄quechcotonoque, njmā no iciuhca quixipeuhtivetzi, quixipeuhtiquiça. Auh in oquixipeuhque: njmā ic cōmaquixtivetzi ce tlacatl in jeuuio: itoca Tecizquacujlli, cenca chicaoac, chichicactic, yoan cenca quauhtic.

Auh in jnezca njmā no iciuhca quixipeuhtivetzi, quimotlalochtia, in vmpa pochtlan: conaquja in jconeuh: itoca, Cinteutl, in vmpa canatiuh.

Auh in ic iuhqui, in oc̄monaqui Teccizquacujlli: mec oalmoquetztivetzi tlatempan: in ooalmoquetztivetzi, cencan iciuhca: mec oalitemotivetzi, quizaztacotivitze, nenecoc, oomemāxivitze in jcuexoan.

Auh in tlamacazque quipalevitivi, icāpa onotivi, quitepevitivi, quipixtivi: auh in oquijntin quichixtoque in pipilti, yoan in veve in tiacaoā.

Auh in jquac ic iuh: njman ic oncoa, ixpā mātivi, ixpā onotivi: cenca motlaloa, cenca puina: iuhquin patlanj, ic motlaloa; oalmocuecuepti, in jxicpa, quicalhujtectivi in inchimal, oalmochimalhujtectivi: no ceppa ic mocuepti, onteteml, ompipilcatoque in motlaloa: cenca nemauhtilo, mavizti tepan moteca, vel tetechaquj in mavizti.

Auh injc iuh iuh in: motenena, çacacali: ichica ca çacatl, ca popotl in immac tetentiuh, chenço, tlaezvilli: auh injc quijntoca, çan momoiaoa, ommanj, cenca momauhtia.

Auh in oncito tlacxitlan, in jcxitlan vitzilobuchtli: njmā ic mauna, motetemoua, mamaçoa in jcxitlā Vitzilobuchtli: conjxnamjctimoquetza, mec oalmocuepa, itlan oalmoquetza in jconeuh in Cinteutl:

in vncan oquichixticaca, imeuiac ictivitz: yoan cōmaquja, icopil, quicoltic, yoan tzitzicpajltic: auh inin motocaiotiaia, itztlacoliuhquj: ichoutl in çetl: quivicativitz, neoā mantvitze, amo motlaloa, ça yio-

6. Though a priest, a man, wears the skin, he impersonates Toci. For the purpose of distinguishing the sex of the impersonator of Toci from those of the impersonator of Cinteotl, the former is referred to in subsequent passages as a woman (*she*) and the latter as a man (*he*).

7. "Luego se levantaua al cumbre del cu" (corresponding Spanish text).

8. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 387) translates this as "der vollendete die maske: Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) speaks of *la semejanza del pellejo*.

given the name Itztlacolinhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacolinhqui is god of] frost. [Cintеotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together—not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *matlatl*.[10]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the five priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cintеotl or Itztlacolinhqui. At a little distance, her Huastecs went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech cloths, and had their mirrors on the smalls of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

And the medicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests proceeded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiativitze, vmpa itztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jteupan, in vmpa omjc: oc ceppa vmpa onmotlalia.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotlecoac, tlatlavillotl eoa, mec oalmoquetza tlatenpan: auh in jxquich tlacatl pipilti, ie quichixtocpac ipan ōnetepeoalo: njman ic qujclatlamacti: in aca qujpotonja icpac, yoan iqxic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca quixaoa: in aca cōmaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjlia: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan iciuhca: njmā ic cactiveixi, njman ic vivilos.

Auh in oviviloac: njmā ic oalquiça in jveitlatquj moteneoa: yiamacal, yoan itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquizpanjtl, macujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoutl in tianquizpanjtl: auh navi necoccampa oome qujtzacuiuh: moteneoa mextli.

Auh in ocōcencauhque, njmā ic onmoiacatia, in mamalti injzpan, navintin: mec oc conteca, in techtec: inoma yiooa in quimjctia, quimelteuquj: navintin, ish quinchiua:

in oquimōnjcti in navintin, mec imnac qujtoalcaoa in tletlenamacaque, injc quimjctiaque, in oc cequjntin mamalti: mec iuh in vmpa ocanato iceneuh: quivicatiuh in jcuneuh, in cinteutl ano itztlacolinhquj: qujiacana in jcuezoan vecapa quiztivi, omocencauhque, iumemecomaxtli, yoan incujtlatencauh, in jichcouchiuh, mamalacaquetzallo.

Auh in tiici, yoan in tenexnamacaque, necoc onotivi, cujcativi: quicujcatlanilitivi in quequacujlti,

9. This headdress is illustrated in the Tonalamatl of the Codex Borbonicus and of the Aubin Collection.
10. Cf. corresponding Spanish term *bohío* (Dodge Español, p. 177) column dec trees to read; possibly it should as well be related to read.

Izcaçaubqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

And when they were being cast into the fire, there then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

They took one another's hands, grasping them firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken, where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hands."

And next day all assembled at the same time to dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasure songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here endeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

qui, ichoan in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pocheca iuuuh catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoquilitivia, ça quiyaxcentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlaco, vncan ic teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in quintlepantlaçaia, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaco, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiquiltonẽ, quachichiquile, mjxtecujcujlo: ioxcalcon quimamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoatzalxtontli: in jquac ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

yoan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhquin tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vntetl in jaiacach, vccampa in aiacachetinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazque: injc oalteno, imaamanacapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca motetzuhzuiaquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhquin mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic moviaequi, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin motenecoa mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuxtlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in nococololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in cuitic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xonoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca izquich tlacatl, çan ichoantin in oquichtin:

njman ie ic peoalo in nococololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle quena, çan avilcujcuil: auh in necacaoalo, ie ioca: auh in aca cenca compaqui, vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jtomjlhujxtli y, ie cuel cõcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je izquich njcan tlamj, njcan tzonoquiça in ilhujtl Teutl eco.

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8. ". . . en el dicado cadalso ardiendo allí muchísimos cativos que en gran muchedad les echaban encima, en la forma que se dixeron arriba; y hechos los sacrificios, aquellos corazones que se dixeron quemábanse, como se dixo en la misma forma de sacrificar" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 221).

9. ". . . porque no han hombres mal el dicho hombrecillo" (*Ibid.*, p. 226). Cf. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

And [the women] who carried [litters] were well and proudly bedight, all in new shirts and skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted and they were arrayed in feathers.

And when the time was favorable that [the victims] should die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they proceeded to leave them there at the [Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there and stretched them out upon the offering stone, then the officiating priests and the slayer came to take their places, and thereupon cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had suffered, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down. And thus they lowered them: they only went rolling them down [the steps], with great care turning them over and over.

And when they had come down with them, then they carried them to the skull rack. And when they had brought them there, then they cut off and severed their heads. There they inserted into their heads [the cross pieces of the rack].

And when they had severed the heads from the bodies, then they took [the bodies] to the tribal temples [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, [took place the ceremony] called "They are dismembered." Thereupon they dismembered the [figures made of] amaranth seed dough. And when [the bodies] were dismembered, then they took them up to the roof tops, there to dry in the sun—to dry stiff and hard. Little by little they kept taking some of it and eating it, and gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular mats which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the rafters of the tribal temples. For one year they cared for them; then they threw them down, scattered, in the Mist House. Only the paper vestments they [then] scattered; the circular mats they returned to their houses.

Here ended the feast which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlaxpaloa, vel mocencaoa, ieccan moquetza, mochi iancuiz, in intech quitlaliaia in incue, in invipil, yoli moxaoa, mopotonja. [796] [292]

Auh in otlaimmãtic in ie iquac mjquizque: njmã ie ic qcjteca in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, quimoocavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oquimonaxitique, mec quimõteca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequipanoque, in temjctianj: njmã ie ic quimelteteq.

Auh in ontlacotique, in omo̲que, njmã ic quinoaltemovia: auh inic quinoaltemovia, çan quinoalmjmjlotivi, cenca çan quẽmach, in quincuecuepitivitze.

Auh in oquimõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie tzompantitlan: auh in oquimonaxitique, njmã ic quinquechtzequj, quinquechcotona: vncã quimõçoço in intzontecõ.

Auh in quimõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie quivica in itecacalpolco: auh in imuztlaioc, in ooallatvic: in mjtoaia, Texinjlo, texixitinjlo: njmã ie ic quixitinja in tzoalli: auh in oquixixitinjque, njmã ic tlapanco quixlecavia, vmpa oaquj, quauhvaquj, tepioaquj: achchi concujtivi in quixqua, çan juh quitlamja. [178]

[264]

Auh in jmamatlaquj ocatca, quixquequentia in jiaoallo ocatca: auh in oquixquequẽtique calquiac compiloa, cãlpulco, çe zivitl quimattiuh, in quixlaçativi, in quitepeoativi, in vmpa aiauhcalco: çanjo in jmamatlaquj, contepeoa: auh in ioxallã quixoalinquj. [289]

Nican tlamj in jlhuitl, in motenoca Tepeilhuitl.

seized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and slew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeuatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivecho, inquich in temaxtlampa quiça, in niamo imjquja.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aquja maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, quintlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli:

intla tlamanj, quimoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan quixlatiz tanaco, anoço quimonamaquilix: yoan in tlamanjme quintlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã ati.

Auh in ic iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic vilcatz, çaiio in intzontecon quioalhujvica intlan quimaana, chichipicativitz in ocatli, in oacico inchachan, aco quinpipiloa auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

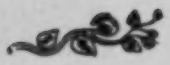
Auh in jquac çacapan quixooaia: iquac quinmacaia in imamaxtlatquj in jzquintin mjequjxque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequjntin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome ichoatl in Izquitecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: ichoan quimaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja ichoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omentin, çan calpixque in quinnextiaia: auh no icholtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izquitecatl: no iquac quicuja in jmamatlatquj.

Aûh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjequjxque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec quinvica in vmpa mjqujxque: quimõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ecõiaoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opeloia, ça vmpa quinvivica in iacacalpulco, ceioal in quintoçavia, quinpia, quinpixia.

Auh in ie omaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzmocujve: auh in oquimixtzoncujque, njmã ie ic motlatlatilia: in oquichtli, quixlatia, in ipan yoan itlac-a,

4. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *por quemarlo* might better be read for *no morirá*. Cf. also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 197).
5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5.
6. Cf. *supra*, p. 97, n. 7.



X 796 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which they tell of the feasts and sacrifices which were performed on the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Panquetzaliztli.**[1]

The fifteenth feast day: this one was called Panquetzaliztli.

[785] When the feast of Panquetzaliztli had not yet arrived, the priests fasted for eighty days, and laid down green boughs. When they began [the fast], it was upon the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread the green boughs, on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they laid the green boughs, they went quite naked, wearing nothing. They went carrying green boughs; these [were] green reeds and thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets and pottery whistles.[2] They proceeded blowing [them] alternately.

[292] [534]

And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when was intoned the song named the Tlaxotecaiotl—the song of Uitzilopochtli. This was begun at nightfall; and it was ended at the time when the trumpets sounded, when the conch shells were blown.

[534]

Also, among them, the women sang and danced—harlots, who went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this, until twenty days [had passed].

Y 796 778 And when the ninth day before [the feast] arrived, then were bathed in sacred water [the victims known as] the ceremonially bathed ones, or those to die the captives' death.[3] The old men of the tribal temple secured the water; they got the water there

Inic 34 capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl, ic caxtoltetl metztli, in mjtoaia: Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtoltetl ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenoua, Panquetzaliztli:

in aiamo aci ilhujtl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhujtl in moçaoaia, yoan acxoiatlaliaia: iquac quipeoaltiaia, in iuh onquiz imuztlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in icalnepantla onacxoiatema, in novian tetepeticpac, yoã in momomozco, in veca.

Auh inin qujchioaia, ixqujchica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in onacxoiatlaliaia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intech vetztiuh, quixqujtivi in acxoiatl, ichoatl in acatl xoxouhquj, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cocovilutl quipiztivi, quipapatlativi in quipitza.

Auh in ōquiz Quecholli ilhujtl: njmā ic peoa in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in eoa itoca tlaxotecaiotl, icujc in Vitzilobuchtli: im peoaloia, iquac in tlatlapoisoa: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalixpā, in ie tlatlapitzalo:

no ycoan cujcoianoa in cica in avienjme, tetzatzalan mantivi (in juh omjto) mumuztlac in muchioa, ixqujchica cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in oacic tlachicunaviti, vncan motecualtiaia in tlatlaltilti, anoço xuchimjcque: in calpulvevetque, conanaia atl: vnpa in vitzilobuchco conanaia atl,

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1. *"Ehrenfeste de Iunderen,"* in Gerbert, *op. cit.*, p. 312; *"el acto de cruelidad el pendón"* (Clavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 170)—possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the statue of Paynal up to the altar in the Temple of Uitzilopochtli. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 299) writes: *"Enterbolmiento de Pendones, ó Vanderas; porque ái por este Tiempo se hazian hechas las cruchas de sus Pintes; las quales pendian, cremejadas à tener sus Guarras: y en este tiempo renovadas sus Mezquanes, Aldaberas, y Landeras; y deprendian sus Torneimes, y Mezaes, y otras cosas de interis que tenian. De manera, que en todo este Mes estaban las Provinzias, en Armas, y continuos exis, y hazian entre ellas sus crueles Guarras, y Batallas; porque muchas veces venian à resquimirse, y morir muchos Gente, y hazia grandes pérdidas, y destrozos, y presas de Cautives, y Ganados, y se temejaba Pueblos, y ganaban Provinzias, en orden de ampliar, cada qual, sus Reinos, y Señorios. Y antes de las cruchas se acostumbraban cada dia este, porque los Pintes, y Serebrudos, no se olbiasen, ni destruyesen; y para esto hazian grandes Ofrendas à su Dios Huitzilopochtli, ò Camazotle, ofreziendole Armas, y otras cosas, pidiendole favor, y ayuda contra sus enemigos."*

According to Tovar (Kohler and Glass, *op. cit.*, p. 32) it was the special festival of the war captains, who set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.

2. *"Trompetile in Gestalt zweier Tauben,"* according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; p. 19. Ixtlilxochitl (Relaciones ed., II, p. 370) says: *"Los sacerdotes hazian un banquete en que daban a comer carne humana: esto hazian en la fiesta que se llama panquetzaliztli. Para esta fiesta compraban esclavos que se llamaban tlaxilacos,*

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feasts and sacrifices which were made in the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Seventeenth feast: this was known by the name of Tititl.

Upon [this] feast died a person named Ilama tecutli—[one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed [slave].[2] The majordomos procured her.

And the adornment of [the likeness of] Ilama tecutli was [as followeth: she had] her white skirt, her white shift—completely white. And over this she was girt with [what was] named the star skirt. This was bedight with small sea shells, on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, [with] shells set at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, much did [the shells] jingle, the pleasant sound [carrying] far. And her sandals had white toes, woven with cotton threads.

And her shield was covered over with white clay and pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers, sewn to the middle [of the shield], and it had pendants at the edges, of heron feathers, and [tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers, hung at the point. And in [the other] hand she bore her weaving stick.[3]

And her face painting was in diverse colors. About the lower part of her face, they spread black. It was said, the lower part of her face was blackened. And upon her nose and forehead, they laid yellow ochre.

And her eagle feather headpiece, a headdress with eagle feathers arrayed upon it, consisted only of hair, twisted, arranged and well disposed, braided and interwined with itself. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli*.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce, capítulo vncan motenena in ilhujtl, yoā in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtólteti omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl.

Injc caxtoltetl omume ilhujtl iehoatl in motenena, itoca Tititl:

in jpan in ilhujtl, ce tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, ixiptla, tlaaltilli: calpixque in qujnextia.

Auh in jnechichical catca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj qujmocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachicalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacazotlalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic ommoxiocuetia: in jquac nenemj cenca xxxamaca, vera caquijzti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jquequetzil: icpatl injc tlaquijtli,

yoan ichimal, çā tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachicalli, inepantla in tlatzōdi, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac: yoan centlapal quijztizquja, itoztopaz:

yoā mexauh mochictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jtenco qujteca tlilli: mjtos, motentlilhuja: auh in jiac ipan, yoan izquac tecoçavid in qujteca,

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjcavia in tzōdi, tlamalintli, tlavipantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanetech itzontli: in tzōcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

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1. "Extraordinary," Guilday suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 314). Cesáreo y Rosa (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 39) written: "Titiá. *Temperamada tradicr, dicsepa apretando; Retentá, encierro ó encierro encierro. Como recibiese cierto falso la interpretación de Retentá, y cinta la raya del medio tiñida, rubricaron despues de la encierba.*" Tezozomoctli (*op. cit.*, p. 369) completes his version thus: "*porque los era de frio, y hielaban, los quales ataban muchos, por la gran copa de que vsaban, y porque por este tiempo, andaban apretados, con Cintarones, y Andaua, que llaman los yndios Provisiones cuentas las otras, y se vestauan, y desnudauan como ellos.*"

Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 201-2) writes: "*quiere decir cintar . . . Imaginaban en el cielo dos vientos contrarios el uno al otro. . . . Salia Indios de compaña y heridos cintan con otro de los nuestros.*"

The Tovar Calendar refers to the gods wrestling and thus supporting "the machine of the world" because of the violent winds. Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5; also supra, pp. 130-31 and n. 3.

3. The shield and the entire costume of this goddess are clearly illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus*. Pane y Tovmeux (*op. cit.*, p. 373) thus describes the shield: "*Un redondo, que se acostumbra traer sobre el la descripción que han dejado los indios, se llamaba: tiene un centro, de plumas de águila pegadas en el centro; y tiene cuatro cuerpecitos cosas y colores de plumas: unas pequeñas de garzotas, redondas (que algunos han*

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until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in those times they covered themselves with nothing else. All thus danced, wrapped only in netted capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

mjtoia, izquíchica yn oquiz iocalli xelisi, yn conquiz iocalnepantla. [535]

auh njman aiac tle quimololooaia, in izquich ic nettotilo, çanyio in nezolololo chalcaiatl, haçan nel iuhqui petlauhtinenca, [592]

yn oquiz cuicatl, njman cecenmanoa, muztla yui, muztla yui, in centlaxilacalti, mòcquitivi vmpa ôcochi in jncochia, injn telpuchcali.

auh in ie vel oquichtin in ie quiximati tlaltícpaiotl, vmpa oncocochi in jnmecaoa. [836]

[p. 56 is blank]

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Eighth Chapter, in which are told the various articles with which they adorned the rulers and noblemen—which they placed on them when they were bodight in capes and breech clouts.

Injc chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa in jzqujtlamantli: in nechichioaia tlatoque in pipilti in jntech qujtlaliaia, injc mocencaoaia in tilmatli in maxtlatl.

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The cape with the serpent mask design, bordered with eyes;[1]	Coatzaiacaio tilmatli, tenjxio,
The cape with the conch shell design, bordered with eyes;[2]	tecucizio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with a design of stone discs, bordered with eyes;[3]	temalacaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the obsidian serpent design, bordered with eyes;[4]	itzcoaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with wine-god jar design, bordered with eyes;[5]	vmetochtecomaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the butterfly design, bordered with eyes;	papaloio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with an eagle's face painted on it, bordered with eyes;[6]	xaoalquauhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The red-bordered ocelot cape, in the middle of which stood an ocelot;[7]	ocelotentlapalli iitic icac oçelotl,
The cape of dark green diagonally divided, in the middle of which stood an obsidian eagle;[8]	chicoiapalli nacazmjnquj iitic icac itzquauhtli,
The cape of blue knots diagonally divided,[9] on which a spear-eagle stood;	xiuhtlalpilnacazmjnquj, tlacochquauhtli vncan icac,
The maguey fiber cape, with an ocelot tail pendant;	quetzalichtilmatli ocelocujtlapillo
The cape of shining maguey fiber [ornamented with] flattened heads;	quetzalichpetztli, quapatlacio tilmatli,
The orange cape with the wind jewel[10] [design] and the feathered border;	camopalecacozcaio, tenjujio tilmatli,
The orange cape with a striped border;	camopaltenoxoanquj tilmatli,
The light blue cape with a wind jewel design, which had a border of feathers with spirals;	apalecaconcaio tilmatli, iujtica tentlaiaoalo,
The carmine-colored cape with an eye border;	nochpaltilmatli tenjxio,

1. Bk. 10 of Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* defines the border with eyes or spots. Also see corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), II, fol. 66.
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
4. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 31.
5. Cf. *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 68. An alternative translation might be "the colored eagle feather cape."
7. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 31. See also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 522.
8. Respendiali: see, however, Schuller, *op. cit.*, III, p. 181.
9. Xiuhtlalpilli might refer to a design suggested by the ceremony of tying the years.
10. See, however, corresponding Spanish text, in which *penacaxtli* is described as a flower; see also Book VIII of the Codex, fol. 14v.

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The tawny cape with a spiral border; quappachtentlaisoalo tilmatli,
The coyote fur cape with a spiral border; coioichcatentlaisoalo tilmatli,
The tawny, knotted cape; quappachtlalpilli tilmatli,
The cape with scorpion design stripes; colotlaxochio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the water spider; quapachatocaio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the butterfly; quappapaloio tilmatli,
The ocelot cape; oçelotilmatli,
The cape with the eagle's leg; quauhtetepoio tilmatli,
The cape with the ocelot skin step design;[11] oçeloxicalcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The ocelot cape; ocelotilmatli,
The half-ocelot, half-eagle cape; oçeloquauhtlatlapanquj tilmatli,
The tawny cape provided with the design of an eye upon a hooked element;[12] quappachixcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The cape with the design of a ladder on the earth; tlallecaoaxio, tilmatli,
The cape with an embroidered, radiating design; tlamachmoiaoac tilmatli,
The cape of duck feathers with a colored border; xomoiujtilmatli tentlapallo,
The cape of duck feathers with [a design of] flattened heads; xomoiujtilmatli quappatlacio,
The white duck feather cape, bordered with eyes; iztac xomoiujtilmatli tenjxio
The duck feather cape, with [a design of] young ears of maize; xomoiujtilmatli elotic
The wolf skin cape; cujtlaichujtilmatli,
The blue knotted [cape], bordered with eyes; xiuhtlalpilli tenjxio,
The cape with a sun [design], bordered with eyes; tonatiuhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The old cape with the eagle head design;[13] quauhtzonteconio tilmatli mamanquj,
The cape with the war symbol; teuatl tlachinoltilmatli,
The cape with the basket flower design;[14] oacalxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the young maize ear flower design;[15] eloxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the colored prince's flower design; tlapaltecuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the dahlia design;[16] acucuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the plumeria flower design;[17] cacaloxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the poinsettia design;[18] cuetlaxxuchio tilmatli,
The white duck feather cape, diagonally divided; iztac xomoiujtilmatli nacazmjnquj,
The white duck feather cape, with the face of a wolf; iztac xomoiujtilmatli cujtlachixio,

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11. *Oçeloxicalcoliuhquj* (*oçelotl*, *xicalli*, *coliuhqui*—*oçelotl*, gourd, twisted): gourd vessel with curved decoration. The nature of weaving makes it a stepped design.

12. Cf. representation in *Primeros memoriales*, Cap. IV.

In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, *yapaltecuxuchiquj* should follow *quappachixcoliuhquj tilmatli*.

13. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 (*quauhtzonteconio*).

14. Prairie flower design, in Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Thompson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Part 3, p. 95 (*Anthurium* sp.?). Emily Walcott Emmart, in *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 234, calling it a basket flower, says it is a species of *cuentacuentas*. Francisco de Santamaría, in *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), II, p. 102, identifies the *huacalxóchitl* (*-xochitl*) as *Phyllodracon affine*, Hemsl.

15. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (*Magnolia* sp.?). Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275, mentions another *elotexochitl* belonging to the *Compositae*.

Yollotzochcalmatli, here listed in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

16. In Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), I, p. 24, this is *Dahlia excelsa* Cav.; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *D. variabilis*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 305, *Dahlia* sp.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 886, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *P. rubra*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308, *P. rubra* L. *Santamaría, op. cit.*, I, p. 251, identifies the *cacaloxóchitl* as *P. rubra* L., *P. lancifolia* R. & P., and *P. acutifolia* Poir. Cecile Hulse Matschat, in *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939), pp. 23, 177, lists *P. acuminata*, and refers to it as "frangipani" and "temple flower."

18. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 980, *Euphorbia* (*Poinsettia*) *pulcherrima* Willd; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *Poinsettia pulcherrima*.

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The cape of colored feathers, with embroidery;	tlapaliujtilmatli tlamachio,
The cape with the face of a wolf;	cuijlachixio tilmatli,
The cape with the tips of eagle wings;	quauhaauijtzoio tilmatli,
The cape with a border of popcorn flowers;	tenjaquijtzachio tilmatli,
The cape with the ivy design;[19]	quazoxotilmatli,
The bed covering cape;	vevej tilmatli pepechtli,
The mattress;[20]	quachpepechtli,
The large cape used to keep oneself dry;	vevej tilmatli neoazalonj,
The breech clout with the ivy design embroidered at the ends;[21]	quazoxocatlamachio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the market place design;	tianquijxio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the eagle's leg design;	quauhtetepoio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the turquoise mosaic mirror design;	xiuhtecaio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the butterfly design at the ends;[22]	acapapaloio maxtlatl,
The breech clout striped in many colors;	centzonmaxtlatl tlatlatlapalpoalli,
The breech clout made of twenty pieces,[23] with the wind jewel design at the ends;[24]	cempoalçotl acahecacozcaio,
The tawny colored breech clout with embroidered ends;	quappachmaxtlatl acan tlamachio,
The carmine-colored breech clout with the ocelot head;	nochpalmaxtlatl, ocelotzontecoio
The ocelot breech clout with a step design;	ocelotxicalcoliuhquj maxtlatl,
The coyote fur [breech clout] with the eagle head;[25]	quauhtzontecoio,
The breech clout with feathered discs at the ends;	acaiujtemalacaio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with radiating embroidery at the ends.	acatlamachmoiaoac maxtlatl.

19. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 257; IV, p. 257.
20. *Vnuy tilmatli pepechtli, quachpepechtli*; cf. Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), Spanish-Nahuatl section—*alhombra, colchon*.
21. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 97, read: *para los ans*.
22. Cf. Spanish text, fol. 16v.
23. The *Florentine Codex* omits *cepoalcoacuechtli* before *quachcuecuechtli*, found in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS.

[p. 26 is blank]

643 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-
301 leafed water plant;
[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;
A green stone nose rod;
A fine turquoise nose rod;
A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;
A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8]
A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;
[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg;
A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;
A quetzal bird as headdress;
Quetzal feather horns;
A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;
A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension;
A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;
A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;
643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the
[276 ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself
416] when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced.
[298 Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with
281] embroidery—embroidered sandals.
[534] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells,
533 and golden bells;
Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.
415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.
351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.
415 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for
314 the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the
534 two-toned drum was sounded.

aparlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,
chalchiuhiacamjtl,
tezziuhiacamjtl,
chalchiuhconcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,
coztic teucujtlachaiacac concatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,
quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,
coztic teucujtlacotzcoatl,
quetzalmacpanjtl,
quetzaltotoiepacxuchitl,
quetzalquaquauujtl,
quetzalecacoxxtli coztic teucujtlaio
xiuhmacopilli,

coztic teucujtlachipulcoxcatl,
teucujtlacoztic acuechcoxcatl,
xuchitl, ietl, inciscaujl tlatoanj, tezcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca inpial, in isquich imaçoaia tlatoanj,

oçelocacactli, cuetlaxacactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,
teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tezilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, uenetzonanj, tlatzotzonqui, cujcaitoanj,

tlauiçpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in isquich omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,
xuchiquauujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inenca catca: ca maçenaz in tlatoanj,

tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, II, p. 543; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1068., on etymology of expression.

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—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Uitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Cuauil. 16. Don Diego Tenetzquin. 17. Don Cristobal Cuaxpanc. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauhpopocatzin. 19. Tlacatecol. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquihuix. 22. Don Pablo Tezozo. 23. Don Martin Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Axoltzoc. 25. Don Martin Tlacatecol. 26. Don Diego Uitzmanahuatzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhtzochtli. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

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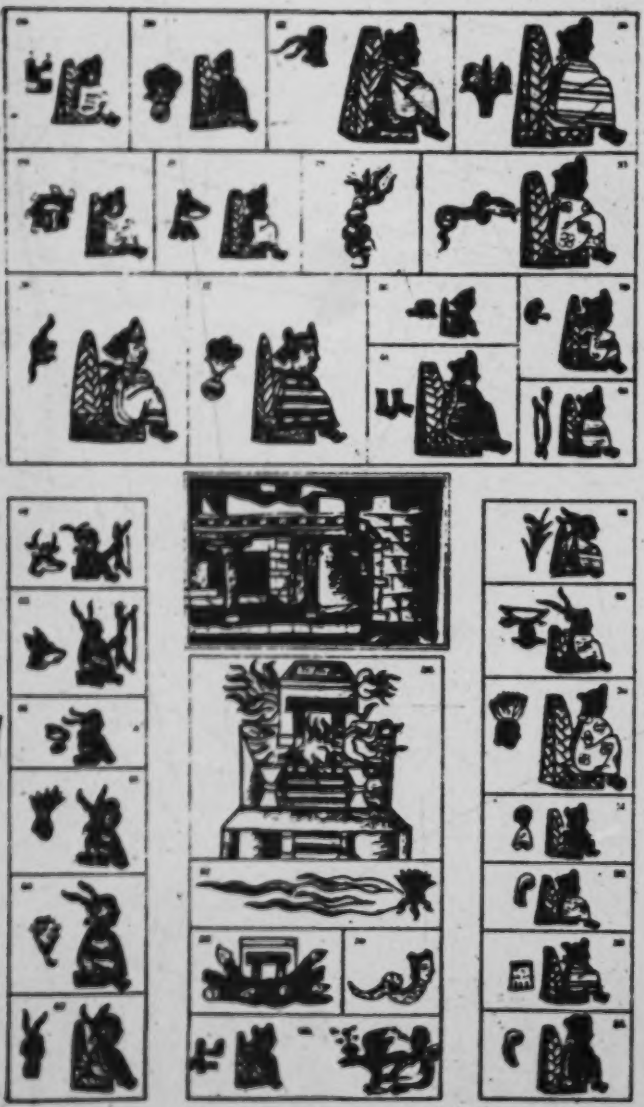

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 29. Tlahuicatzin. 30. Tezozomoctzin. 31. Ahuitzotzin. 32. Moctezuma Xocoyotzin. 33. Cuitlahuatzin. 34. Cuauhtemoctzin. 35. Tetlepanquetzin. 36. Itzcoatzin. 37. Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina. 38. Axayacatzin. 39. Tizoc. 40. Ahuitzotzin. 41. Moctezuma Xocoyotzin. 42. Cuitlahuatzin. 43. Cuauhtemoctzin. (Chapter 3.)

Rulers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco. 44. Tlacotzin. 45. Moquihuixtzin. 46. Tezozomoctzin. 47. Axayacatzin. 48. Tizoc. 49. Ahuitzotzin. 50. Moctezuma Xocoyotzin. 51. Tlacahuepantzin. 52. Cuitlahuatzin. 53. Cuauhtemoctzin. (Chapter 4.)

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 54. Quauhquecholtzin. 55. Mictlacihuatzin. 56. Acxoyatzin. 57. Itzcuauhtzin. 58. Moquihuixtzin. 59. Tezozomoctzin. 60. Axayacatzin. 61. Tizoc. 62. Ahuitzotzin. 63. Moctezuma Xocoyotzin. 64. Cuauhtemoctzin. (Chapter 5.)

Offerings. 65. Tollan. (Chapter 5.)

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 66. Burning temple. 67. Comet. 68. Inundation. 69. Cuauhxolotl weeping. 70. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]

[p. 36(D) is blank]

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncā mjtoa, injc 533
mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: 292
ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque.

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mācehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço māçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujichecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, [534]
aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçolоctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mācehoallatqujtl,

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaiehecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

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INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in 567
jnchan catca tlatlacoti 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch 463
nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, 344
toznenene, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tla- 231
chichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtla- 136
pitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli.

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called *amantecas* after the district of Amanthlan, in Tonalá[n]d, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Soler, *Riunge Kapind*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *nepanpixque* for *nepanpixque*, and begins with the verso a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Casa de las fieras.*"

[p.46 is blank]

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed himself, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
● 292 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a
301 yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become benotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

veuetl: ioan in izquich maçeoallatquitl, ioan netotiliztli, aquin cujcaitoz, aquiquc in teiacanazque, aquin teponaçoz, aquin veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacuiz.

Auh in ie iooac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhuitl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc quiJpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in conzatl conteca, aço chalchiuhconzatl, anoço conzapetlatl, teuxiuitl itlaactoc, macuextli imac quitlalia vei chalchiuitl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiuitl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtoaia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in quijmololoa, in quijmoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in quijmomaxtlatia,

njman ic no quicencaoa quitlauhtia: in izquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan teutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan quinmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzquitlamantin omoteneubque.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli quichalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitta, quipoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quitzacutiuh mjquja.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncā mjtoa injc ixtoçoaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhuitl in jpāpa isniotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhuitl crioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca itnoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoctica quenmanjan quiçaia quijiaoaloa in altepetl quitta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ie necuitlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapetl in octli ioan oc cenca qujtlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

643 And some of the noblemen who feared the office of ruler hid themselves and took refuge [from those who might choose them].[4]

643 FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is told how they
644 arrayed those who had been elected when they did penance, and led them to the house of Uitzilopochtli.

And at this time were brought together, according to command, the noblemen, the lords, the masters of the youths [who were] leaders, and great judges. When these lords were assembled, then they commanded the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, to seek out and go to take among themselves, those who had been chosen: the one whom they had named ruler and those whom they had named lords. When they had been put in office, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went to take, wheresoever he was, the one who had been vested in the office of ruler. Then they speedily laid hold of him; before them, all the people beheld him.

643 Then they took him before the lords. He went
292 bare. They put on him a green,[5] sleeveless jacket. And they had him carry upon his back his tobacco gourd with green tassels. Then they veiled his face, they covered his head [with a] green fasting cape designed with bones. Then they gave him his green[5] cotton bag filled with incense and decorated with bones, and they put on him his new foam sandals with green toes. They placed in his hand his incense ladle, also painted with the skulls of the dead, and with paper pendants [on the handle].

643 And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to take the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. When they had brought the ruler to the top [of the pyramid temple], then he took incense, poured it into the incense ladle, in which there were live coals. Then he raised it before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order to perfume it. He stood always with his face covered by the fasting cape designed with bones. And all the common folk stood looking up at him. Trumpets were sounded; the shell trumpets were blown.

644 And these lords—the Tlacochcalcatl, the Uitznaua-
292 tlailotlac, the Pochtecatlailotlac and the Ticociauacatl —the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, then also speedily adorned. Each one they dressed in his

auh in cequintin in pipilti in quimacaçi tlatocaiotl motlatia mjnaia.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quinchichioaia, in opepenaloque, in jpan tlamaçoaia: ioan quinuicaia, in jchan vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in ic iuhquj: in ocenquixoac, in jcoac naoatilli, in pipilti, in tecutlatoque, in tiiachcauh tlaiacatique, ioan achcacaubti, in onecentecoc, in iehoanti tecutlatoque niman quinnaoatia in teupixque, papaoaque, injc quixtemoxque injc tetzalan conanatiuj: in opepenaloc in tlatoanj, quitocaiotia in aquin, ioan quixtocaiotia in aquique tecutlatoque, oixquetzaloque njman ic uj in canaxque in teupixque papaoaque, in campa catquj, oixquetzaloc tlatoanj: njman quicuitiuetzi teixpan mochi tlacatl quitta:

njman ie qujujca imixpan tecutlatoque petlauhtiuh conaquja xicolli xoxouhquj, ioã qujmamaltia iietecon in jmamaxoxouhquj: njman ic conjxtlapachoa, ic quiquaquimjloa neçaoalquachtli xoxoctic omjcallo, njmã ic conmana iepaxiquipilli in vncan tentiuh copalli omjcallo xoxoctic: ioan conaaqujlia iancujc in jpoçolcac xoxoctic in jquequetzil, njman imac contequjlia, in jtlema, no mjccatzontecomaio, injc tlacujlolli, amocuitlapile.

Auh in iehoantin, papaoaque teupixque: caantiuj in tlatoanj in quitlecauja ixpan vitzilopochtli: in jcoac ocaxitique in tlatoanj, in tlacpac, njman concuj in copalli, contema in tlemaco, in vncan ietiuh tlexochili: njman ic cacocuj in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, inic tlapopochuja, çan ic quatlapachiuhticac: in neçaualquachtli, omjcallo. Auh in jxqujch maçoalli, acepa conjtztoc, tlapitzalo, mopitza in tecuiztli.

Auh in iehoantin tecutlatoque, tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, pochtecatlailotlac, ticociauacatl: njman no hiçiuhca quinchichioa, in teupixque papaoaque, cecenaca quimaquja tlilticic ixicolli, ioan imjetecon,

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "aunchar de los que tenian temporales que los eligiesen, se escondia por no ser electos por no tomar tan gran cargo."

5. Etymological comment: words missing in corresponding Spanish text.

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tlilti̇c in jmama, ioan quimaaquilia impocolcac iztac: njman ic quimontlapachoa, quimonixquimjloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tlilti̇c omjcallo, ioan quimonmaca icpaxiquipilli, tlilti̇c omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli ontentiuh: njman ic no quintlecauja cecenme, quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc quintlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopuchtli quipopochuja.

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SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oalquiçaia naujlhujtl.

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Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otla,vpochujque iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic qujoaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xoxoctic: njman ic no ceceiaca qujnoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj, ceceiaca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo.

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quintlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca qujmonujca in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa quiça, çan cheoaticate; in jcoac ie nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujmonana, quintlacoaantiuj ixquimjliuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh ceceiaca in jicpaxiquipil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in quintlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oaltemo tecpantiujtze, ixtlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachcli omjcallo: qujnjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça ceppa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

6. Impossible: inexplicable le mauvais.
7. Voir Real Academia de la Historia MS les quelconques les quelconques.

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxquichtin tlatoque, ilhujcastentli qujztoque, ioan in jxquichtin tlatoque in altepetl ipan, qujiaoalotoque mexico, tetzcuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj. 643 527 648

Auh in jcnac ocenquizque in jxquichtin tlacoanotzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiauhoan: njman ic quintlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, qujntlauhtia in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaçotlanquj chimalli, netotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceioal cemjlhujtl, in tepaqujltia tlatoanj,

auh in jcnac no qujntlauhtia, in jxquichtin pipiltin, tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan telpuchtlatoque, ioan ixquichtin cujcanjme, ioan ixquichtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque: [431]

auh in otzonquiz tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic ompeoa in jxquichtin tlacoanotzalti.

INIC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, altepetl ipan. 643 292

Auh çan njman iquezquijujioc, iaxtlatoa in tlatoanj, injc cana iauquiztoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in jxquichtin tiacahoan, oquichti: auh iioma in tlatoanj in iauh iauc, in oniaoquiça, in ontepeoa qujuica in jxquichti iauquizque, ioan in noujian tlatoque altepetl ipan inic oiaoquiça, ontepeoa: auh in jcnac ôtepeoato, oiaoquiçato cenca paqui, in qnexquich malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli qujnmictiaia, inic inca ilhujquiztiaia. Auh in ixquichtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmauiziotia, mjiec tlamãtli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotilmatli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj, ioan qujntocamaca injc mauizzililoque, injc tlacamachoque, injc oquichti, tiacaboã. 726 724

8. In ibid., seventeen dialects is followed by some subsequent dialects, and rules of the Mixteco country.

[p. 66 is blank]

65

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anaço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin ieoac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama ieoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic mxima moquaiacalxima çaniio inicon nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
● [292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlaltícpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
386] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh ī aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ispan quiuica in motecuçoma in umpa tlatocăn. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quitecuzauhuia in icalpiscahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl cololtalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh icoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in onitn.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in icaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitecuzauhuia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yoan vmpa quimpanuia*—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*vna manta con sesar Rotas labradas de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras diuersas labores de colorado que se llaman cotolalpalli; y . . . vn maxtle labrado de colorado, largo que arrastraua hasta enbaxo, y otro maxtle labrado de todas colores.*"

643 **Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.**

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniacatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone — his very own.

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if] kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Injc vme capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenja acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh qujtoa ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oittoque, in aqujque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acaltica ie onotinemj. Niman inoema ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixquj, q'nvicac oc cequjntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Jaotzin. Injc ei, Teuciniocan calpixquj: itoca Teuciniacatl. Injc navi iehoatl in cujtlalpitoc çan tetlan nènquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

çan oc iehoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan juhqujnma qujntlanamaqujltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnmacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac·oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineixcavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in iaque injc qujmjttato, injc iuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiqujxtlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjqujti, injc vel melaoac qujmocaqujtiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

njman ie·ic vi in atl itic ommacalaqujque, ommatocòque, qujntlanelhujque atlaca.

Auh in cintech ompachivito españoles: njman imjxpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

qujnoalnotzq̃ in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"criado de otro dentro calpixques."*

2. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Décimo tercia relación de la venida de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 8, mentions Tenpill, or Tochtlilla, *gobernador de Moctezuma, que era de Comalcal, o Cuetlachtlan,"* who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

3. *Amoaoc* (you live): possibly *ahmoaoc* (we live) is intended.

4. Moteuçomatzin: nonessential form of well-known Nahuatl name is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Conquerors*, p. 182. Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 457, translates the phrase thus: *"como de Rodillas con Reverencia."*

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

Çan njman quitoque, ca vmpa in mexico tiaallaque.

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

Quinoalnaoquíjique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

Quimonjlhuíque. Totecuíovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

431 643 ● 392 648 Therefore they offered them all the various things which they bore with them; costly capes such as those which here are named: [the mantle] with the sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

Njmã ie ic quinnaca in jaquitlamantli quitequíque tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, ichcatl in, in njcã motenteoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: teconaio, xoalquauhio, cuaxiacaio, ecacoccaio, Tolecio, xnoço amalacaio, Tezcapocio:

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber.

in jaquitlamãtli in in quimõnacaque, quinoalcuepcaiotilique, quinoalmacaque coxcatl, xnoctic, coztic: iuhquinma in apoçonalnenequj:

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

auh in ococuíque, in oquittaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

yoan quinoalnaoatiqa: quinoalilhuíque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, anno tivecaoazq tacitivi in mexico:

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

Auh in otlalhoacca quiçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhuíd, cecenoal in oalnenenque, injc quinonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in iveliaca quilhuíco, quicaquíco: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oquícuíto.

500 And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Auh njman ie ic quinonotza: Totecuíoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlili ca incatquj otiquittaque, incatquj otiochiulaque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in texcal ixco. Ca otiquimjttato in totecuíoan, in texcu in atl itic: in jxquich motilmatzin otiquinmacato: auh incatquj techmacaque intlatquíci. Quitoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, incatquj anquimiacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techxitmatiz:

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6. Spanish text: *les capitulos dieron a los indios collares de cuentas, unos verdes y otros amarillos.*" This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

7. *Ibid.*: "no se dio, y se vino noche."

8. Sahag., *op. cit.*, p. 488, has *ipol ixco*, translated "face of all."

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The second [gift] which they went offering him was the array of Texcatlipoca—the headpiece of feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzmilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] [416] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Texcatlipuca: hivitzonocalli, coztic texcujtlatica cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolocatl; elpan concatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaisoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonqui: yoan centetl tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh texcacujtlapilli: yoā oc no centlamātli, texcujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco moꝑpiaia, voā centlamantli, intac cactli.

[237] [416]

Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichical catca, Tlalocā tecutli: quetzalartatzontli, çā moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhquin xoxoquivi, xoxoquiuhtimanj: auh in ipan texcujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujiolli: in jcoxquj chalchiuhcoxcapetlatl no texcujtlacomallo, no texcacujtlapile, in juhquj oncjco, no tzitzile; tenchilnaocaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli texcujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

[237]

Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzalcoatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[17] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, cozolīo; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica texcujtlaepcoiolli; yoan chalchiuhcoxcapetlatl, çan no texcujtlacomalli in jnepantla mantia: yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no texcujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli texcujtlatica itizapo, quetzaltençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

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9. *Ibid.*: "una cabellera hecha de plumas ricas que colgaua por la parte detras hasta cerca de la cintura estaua aderezada toda de estrellas de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "unas conchas de oro que llamaui colgadas unas contrarellicas de oro y cuentas de oro pendientes marauillosas blancas y hermosas desde cerca de la cintura que era como pecho y llamauale conquiz [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamase esse pecho muchas contrarellicas arrolladas y colgadas por todo el."

11. *Ibid.*: "un cuero de tela blanca pintado la orilla de alrededor destre cuero yua bordada con plumas blancas unas lisas por todo el redondor."

12. *Ibid.*: "otra manera vina la tela dellas era en aquel diuersidad y todo labrado cruzadas de muchas labores de en aquel manera fina llamauanse esta manera tzitzilli esta manera se ponia por la cintura atada por las espaldas al cuerpo."

13. *Ibid.*: "una rodaella de mesmpre, atada al cuerpo cabre las lomos."

14. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de chalchihuitl, muchas que venia dibre unas calabrinas de chalchiuhes."

15. *Tzacabloconio* is probably meant by the Aztec colonio.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "una cofia de cuero de tigre, y cabeçuna [sic] de la misma, cabre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cisnes, llamanse la misma era chalchiuhes guisada y redonda, en la punta."

17. *Ibid.*: "de mesmpre de turquesas."

12

1/2 [There is no known genus of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Analyst]

golden shells used upon his ankles; and a shield with a golden disc in the center, and spread quetzal feathers along its [lower] rim, and also with a quetzal feather banner.[18] [He had] the curved staff of the wind god, hooked at the top,[19] and white precious stone stars[20] spread over it; and his foam sandals.

Behold, these [were] all the things called the array of the gods, which became the charge of the messengers, and yet many more things which they bore as their greeting gifts — the shell-shaped headpiece of gold, with pendant parrot feathers;[21] the golden conical cap,[22] etc.

Thereupon were baskets filled; wooden frames for carrying burdens on the back were loaded. And the five [messengers] named, Moctezuma then commanded; he said unto them: "Go! Linger nowhere! Pray to our lord the god; say unto him: 'Thy servant Moctezuma hath sent us; behold what he offereth you, for [the god] hath come to reach his wretched home in Mexico.'"

And when they had gone to reach the coast, they ferried them across, they took them by boat across to Xicalanco. Then once again they departed from there by boat; the water folk took them. Everything was placed and heaped in the boat; they filled the boat with the goods. And when the boat was filled, thereupon they departed. They betook themselves into the water and left to reach the boats [of the Spaniards], they approached their boats.

Then [the Spaniards] inquired of them: "Who are you? Whence came you?"

Then [the messengers] answered them: "We have come from Mexico."

Again [the Spaniards] said to them: "Perhaps not. Perchance you only claim to come from there. Perhaps you only pretend. Maybe you make sport of us."

But when they had verified it, when they had quieted their doubts, then they hooked the prow of the boat with an iron pole, and thus drew them near. Then also they let down a ladder.

yuã hexaxonecujlli, quacoltic, intzc chalchiuitl injc citlallotoc yoan ipeçolcac.

Oca inquitlamiltli in, in moteneoa teutlatquitl in intlatequj mochiuhtia titlanti, yoan oc cenca mjec tlamantli in quiequjque in intenamjquja Teucujtlaquatocintli tzotlapalolio, teucujtlacopilli, etc.

Niman ie ic flatanatemalo, tlacacaxchichioalo. Auh in omoteneuhque macujltin; njman ie ic quinnaoatia in Motecuçoma: quimjlhuj. Tla xivian, ma cana anvecauhti, xicmotlaluhtilican in totecujo in teutl: xiquilhujcan, ca otechalioa in motechiuhcauh Motecuçoma: iscatequj mjtzalmomaquilia, ca onaxitico in jchãtzinco mexico:

Auh in oncito atenco, quimõpanavique, acaltica quimonvicaque in xicalanco: ie no ceppa vncan ce-cenq acaltica quinvicaque in atlaca, moch onmacalaqui, onmacalten, conacaltenque in tlatquitl. Auh in ontlaacaltemaloc, njman ie ic vi, onmatocticque, itech onacito in jmacal, itich compechoque in jmacal.

njmã quinoalilhujque. Ac ameuan? campa anhallaque?

njman iuh quinnanquilique. Ca vmpa tiallaque in Mexico:

oc ceppa quinoalilhujque. Acaçomo, aço çan vmpa anmotlamja, aço çan anquipiqui, aço çã toca anmocacalaoa.

Auh in ovel yiollo macic, in oiniollopachiuh. Niman ic quioalilacatzopinjque in acalli, tepuztopilitica, ic quinoalililnjque: njman no quioalquetzque ecaxtli.

18. *Ibid.*: "la qual traida cerca derecha cosa plumas ricas en la haza de la rodella [sic] alla esa rueda de plumas ricas."

19. *Ibid.*: "un bastón labrado de manopas de torçuesa y en la hastia de arriba puesto cosa plumbre ricas a partes conforme en la alta de arriba."

20. Literally, white green stone. The term chalchiuitl, often translated "jade" or "jadeite," may well have included various kinds of stones. Hence, our translation has adopted the term "green stone."

21. *Ibid.*: "una mjtra de oro hecha a manera de corona mortera ell cosa copadera de plumas ricas que enligaron hasta los copadillos."

22. Corresponding Spanish term: "una mjtra Alta."

[p. 14 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Astec NU7

[65
301
292]

[774
346]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

51. Tribute salt for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *tecuexolli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itzpepoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[1] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had][1] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

1. Text is repeated in the MS.

Auh in otlatvic in ic ilhuiuh ipan, in inetzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monectoltia, ixpan onconpanti quitemamaquilia, ixpan quimana in inquican ventli in tlacatlequalli, in tecalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, axcmo quitlecavique, axcmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in inquich tlacatl in teipopochtequjoaque inhquin necoccquetzalo, inhquin in ioiolipá in jlhuitlaxque, in ilhuitlamatizque, inic quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltiá, quintlaxtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatzonca, netlalcio, vmpa itztiova in tenitoalco, inic vmpa nococololoc. Auh in ococnqujaoac: njmá ic ic penolo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan nococololoc. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocxiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imococoquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaiciccalhuja in ococpaviel: auh in aquin maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iastaxel. Auh in aquin çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicujtlavitequj, quimetztivtequj, cacalhujtequj, caliticpa contepeoa, conchiccanaoa, tonjxiquetza, mjhixiquentiuh, nanacanitztiuh niac temacnanati:

[796] [778] [535] [785] [292] [514] [628]

cmoca ichuá tlamamauhtiznia, tlamauhtiznia, cenjmacaxoa, conjmacaxtincaca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocxiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel hueí quiçaia, amo quiçacujlioia: auh in ie inquich teipotzintli, in cocxaltzine in cocxpaltzinizque, yoan in tlamocolcque, in tepallanaoj, in yiaque: in motzooa in ilhuchiaque, in oc ic nenj, in oc cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quinzaquia: quimjlhuja, vmpa nivá on necoc, anquimitta, amo tachiton.

[785] [302]

[p. 52 is blank]

All went forth afoot holding, by their capes, Quauhtemoc, Coanacoxtzin, and Tetlepanquetzatzin[8] — grasping only these three. [And also appeared] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin, the lords' judge Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, the keeper Tlaquiyauh — the men who guarded all the gold.

Then they went straightway to Atacteuco,[9] to the house of the chieftain and commanding general Coyoueuetzin. The Spaniards came in files; they stretched out in two rows, which went to their ends at a distance and extended far. And when they had reached the house of Coyoueuetzin, then they climbed up to the roof-top, on to a platform. Then they sat down. With a many-colored cloth they made a canopy for the Captain. Then the Marquis sat there, and with him stood Marina.

And Quauhtemoc was by the Captain. He had bound on the cape of quetzal feathers, each half of different color, with humming bird feathers, after the manner of those of Ocuillan. It looked soiled. He had only this. Then, after him, came Coanacoxtzin, ruler of Texcoco, who had bound on only a maguey fiber cape bordered with flowers and with a design of radiating flowers. It also seemed dirty. Then after him came Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan. He likewise was covered by a cape of maguey fiber, also very dirty — much soiled. Then, next, came the chief justice Auelitoctzin, and last walked Yopicatl Popocatzin, a prince. On the other side were the men of Tenochtitlan — Tlacotzin, Petlauhtzin, Motelchiuhtzin, the constable of Mexico, the lord priest Coatzin, and the keeper Tlaquiyauh.[10]

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muchintin vallacitquetziaque, quiyolquizquiz-
que inilamatoch in Quauhtemoctzin, Coanacoxtzin,
Tetlepanquetzatzin, can ixintin valmotlaque. Auh
in Coanacxtl tlacatzin: Tlilancalqui, petlauhtzin,
vitznauatl, motelchiuhtzin mexicatl. Achcauhtli,
Tecutlamacazqui, Coatzin, tlailotl, tlaquiluani, in ie-
huantin in quiquizia in juquich teucujtatl:

ajnman vmpa tlamelauhque in atectiuhca, in vncan
ichan in tlacatuh in tlacuchcalcatl, in Coioueuetzin:
pipiltivi in Españoles, ic vmmocatl motlalinja, vca
tlantivi, vetzi acitivi: auh in oncan in ichã coioueue-
tzin, ajnnã ic tlecoque in tlapanco, in tlapechco: ni-
man ic motlalique, tlatlapalquauhtli in quiceuala-
tique capitan, ajnnã ic oncã ommotlali in Marques,
itlan ommotlali in Malintzin:

[292] ●
auh in Quauhtemoctzin itlan co in Capitan: in
quiquixpilitia quetzalichpeutli, tlatlacuhujcotli, vini-
tzalin hivio iujc ocujtlecuin, ommuh cattaoac, can
quiacavitica: ajnnã cotonquilitica in Coanacoxtzin,
tetzacuc tlatzaui: in quiquixpilitica, can vel ichtil-
matli, xoxochitzio, xochimoiauac, ommuh no cattaoac:
ajnnã otlconquilitica. Tetlepanquetzatzin, tlacu-
hua tlatzaui, çã no iuhquj in quiquixpilitica in ichtil-
matli, ono vel cattaoctli, ouel oatzaoac: ajnnã cotton-
quilitica. Mixcoatlailoctlac, auelitoctzin: tlatzacutica
jopicatl, papocatzin, pilli: ocelopal ocuipe in to-
nochca. Tlacotzin. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzin
mexicatl, achcauhtli, tecutlamacazqui, coatzolcatl,
Tlacuiluani.

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8. Rulers of Tlacopan and of the Tlaxcalans, respectively, according to Torquemada, op. cit., p. 288.

9. "Donde ahora está edificada la iglesia de Santo Lucas, aquel era el Tlatelolco" — Ixtl. ch.

10. Tlacotzin: the middle is omitted in the MS. In this passage, motelchiuhtzin appears to be one together in the MS. Cf. Ixtlilxochitl, op. cit., and Alvarado, op. cit. (Kingsb.).

[p. 120 is blank]

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got down from his litter, and those great Caciques supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals [*cotaras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

527 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Mexititlan; or the Otomí warriors
533 or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponaztcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, ztzotzocolcujcatl, auh in axoço çan aujlcujcatl, tzcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quateçoqujcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

So it was said that verily the [day sign of the]
535 flower was in place.

yc mjtoaia ca nel onjcac in xuchitl.

And then the majordomos gathered together all
● 262 the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and
527 which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire
643 to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

Ioan vncã qujcensqujxtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxqujch imãceollatquj tlatoanj, qujdanenectia, qujtlãtlattitia, in catle conelcujx, ipan onmjtotiz, ipan onnetlamitiz:

527 And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the
643 insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the com-
431 manding generals, the generals, those who struck, encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

ioan vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujcecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in teviltequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

643 And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded
527 and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts,
533 all the singers, the singers from the common folk, the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums
535 —the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-toned drum players, those who started the singing,
431 those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtilotica, in jxquich cujcani, mãceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaanquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaqujtotianj, tlamcuubquj, tocacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch ichoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

262 —tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top;
527 fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualtectli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaquallj, quauhtlaquallj, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoztli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaolo.

527 And when they had tired and were wearied of dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj mãceoliztli, njman qujcalaqujaia, qujtlatiaia, in vme xuchiquvitl: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic quixiptlaiotiaia,

9. Cf. ibid., X, 29, 94-95; *genre héroïque* was a term generally endorsed by seniors.

10. In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads and *xoje dance pipiloaz, xolopolo mapipiloaz, tzcuiloa tzcuiloa . . . ihuã olin, Olmeca, op. cit.*, p. 235 (translation).